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# A BYZANTINE FAMILY: THE GABRADES, c. 979-c. 1653

## Introduction

THE ebb of Arab influence in central and eastern Anatolia revealed a number of provincial dynasties, many of Armenian origin, from which the government in Constantinople never completely wrested local control. From the eleventh century these families helped transform and 'feudalise' the Byzantine government and ruling class, successfully competing for the throne itself.<sup>1</sup> By the twelfth century birth had become more important than office in determining those of the highest influence in the Empire. The prosopography of these families is therefore an important aspect of late Byzantine research, begun as early as 1680 with Ducange's great *Familiae Augustae Byzantinae*. Recently the subject has been considerably advanced by Professor Donald Nicol<sup>2</sup> and by Dr. D. I. Polemis,<sup>3</sup> with studies of the Kantakouzenoi and the Doukai.

Among lesser families the Gabras (*Γαβράς*) is perhaps the most revealing and distinctive. Some Gabrades have already been discussed: Meliopoulos's study of the dukes of Chaldia<sup>4</sup> (Nos. 3-5) is the earliest, but is

<sup>1</sup> See S. Vryonis, 'Byzantium: the social basis of decline in the eleventh century', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, ii (1959), p. 161. The following families emerged by the end of the ninth century: Rentakios, Tessarakontopechys, Bryennios, Choirospaktes, Monomachos, Phokas, Malienos, Doukas, Argyros, Skleros, Mousele, Kourtikes, Botaniates, Kamateros, Melissenos, Tzimiskes, Kourkouas and Melias. In the tenth century there were added: Akropolites, Tornikes, Taronites, Kourtikios, Batatzes, Glabas, Gabras, Bourtzes, Komnenos, Diogenes, Dalassenos, Kekaumenos and Apokaukos. By c. 1100 there were added: Synadenos, Choumnos, Maniakes, Mouzalon, Raoul (Rallis), Palaiologos, Branias, Sgouros, Petraliphas, Mouzakios, Angelos and Kantakouzenos.

<sup>2</sup> Donald M. Nicol, *The Byzantine family of Kantakouzenos* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies xi, 1968). I am grateful to Professor Nicol for pointing out some fourteenth-century Gabrades and to Dr. Sebastian Brock and Professor Wilfred Lambert for advice on the origin of the name Gabras.

<sup>3</sup> Demetrios I. Polemis, *The Doukai. A contribution to Byzantine prosopography* (London 1968).

<sup>4</sup> I. Meliopoulos, 'Trapezountiaka archaiologemata', in *Epeteris Hetaireias Byzantinon Spoudon*, VII (1930), pp. 70-8. See also B. A. Mystakides, 'Trapezountiaka', loc. cit., pp. 79-93. The polychrome flag, complete with crown, single-headed eagle and St. Eugenios, which Meliopoulos publishes as that of Constantine Gabras (No. 5) is pure fantasy, nor is there any evidence for his contention that the Gabrades issued coins bearing the single-headed eagle.

unreliable; Professor Claude Cahen has examined the careers of most Gabrades in Seljuk service<sup>3</sup> and Vasiliev the Crimean family of Khovra.<sup>4</sup> More Gabrades can be added and the time has come to assemble all known members of the dynasty and to view it as a whole.

The name Gabras is almost certainly not Greek, or even Pontic Greek, in origin (Golubovich's intriguing suggestion that it is derived from Kabeira, the old Pontic capital, must be ruled out; Pompey renamed it Diospolis and it was always called Neokaisareia from the first century A.D.).<sup>5</sup> One must therefore look to the languages of the Byzantine borderlands, from which the Gabrades originated. It is not a Laz name, as Pachymeres appears to believe;<sup>6</sup> and despite the connections between the Gabrades and the Taronitai and Vasiliev's contention that the family had an Armenian name, this convenient solution seems unlikely.<sup>7</sup>

Putting aside a (very remote) chance that there is a Persian background to the name,<sup>10</sup> two possibilities remain. First there is Fallmerayer's opinion that the name is derived from the common Aramaic and Syriac formula 'g-b-r', indicating 'hero' or, simply, 'man'.<sup>11</sup> Amantos suggested that Gabras is a hypocoristicon of Gabriel<sup>12</sup> (i.e. 'man of God'), which comes from the same root. A second explanation has not been put

<sup>3</sup> Claude Cahen, 'Une famille byzantine au service des Seldjoukides d'Asie Mineure', in *Polychronion* (Festschrift Franz Dölger, Heidelberg 1966), pp. 145-9; *ibid.*, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* (London 1968), pp. 90, 93, 97, 103, 108, 112, 210, 215.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander Alexandrovich Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Monographs of the Medieval Academy of America, XI, Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 143, 153-8, 194-201, 246.

<sup>5</sup> P. G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca-Bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francese* (Quaracchi 1913), II, pp. 298-9; David Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the end of the third century after Christ* (Princeton 1950), II, p. 1071.

<sup>6</sup> George Pachymeres in *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae* (ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1835), I, p. 282. But, like other Byzantine chroniclers, Pachymeres seems to have used the term 'Laz' to indicate the inhabitants of the Empire of Trebizond, rather than in its strict ethnic sense (see *ibid.*, I, p. 520 and Anthony Bryer, 'Some notes on the Laz and Tzan; Part II', in *Bedi Kartlis, revue de kartvelologie*, XXIII-XXIV (1967), pp. 166-8). Gabras is not noted in Ladislav Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Prague 1964), nor is the entry in H. Moritz helpful (*Die Zunamen bei den Byzantinischen Historikern und Chronisten* [Progr. des k. Hum. Gymnasiums in Lanschut für das Schuljahr 1896/7], I, p. 46). But it appears as the name of a Bulgarian chieftain in c. 1018; cf.: Gyula Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* (Berlin 1958), II, p. 108.

<sup>7</sup> Vasiliev, *Goths*, p. 153; but it is not in H. Adjarian, *Dictionary of Armenian personal names* (in Armenian) (Erevan 1942).

<sup>10</sup> Gabaruva (Gobryas in Xenophon, Ugbaru in cuneiform texts) was governor of Babylon in the time of Cyrus II; cf.: V. Scheil, 'Le Gobryas de la Cypédie et les textes cunéiformes', in *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*, XI (1914), pp. 165-74.

<sup>11</sup> J. P. Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt* (Munich 1827-Hildesheim 1964), p. 19 \*\*\*; cf.: the strictures of E. Janssens in *Trebizonde en Colchide* (Brussels 1969), p. 56, n. 3.

<sup>12</sup> K. I. Amantos, *Scheseis Hellenon kai Tourkon* (Athens 1955), p. 140, n. 5.

forward so far. It is that Gabras is derived from a series of terms which begins with the Arabic '*kafir*' ('unbeliever'), Persian '*gabrak*' (originally 'Zoroastrian'), Kurdish '*gebir*' or '*gavir*' ('Armenian' or 'Russian'), and ends with the modern Turkish '*gavur*' ('unbeliever', 'Christian'). The word has not always had its present pejorative overtone; it indicated a distinctive person (Armenian or Orthodox Christian, or *akritic* lord) in a Moslem environment.<sup>13</sup> This fits in with what we know of the earliest Gabrades and seems the most plausible solution.

Characteristically, the earliest Gabrades (Nos. 1 and 2) are found on the sidelines of great Anatolian risings against Constantinople. The areas associated with the first five Gabrades, and some later members, are distinct: the northern edge of the central and eastern Anatolian plateau, which runs through the themes of Chaldia, Koloneia, Armeniakon (later Turkoman Djanik) and Charsianon and includes the broad valleys of the upper Akampsis, Lykos, Iris and lower Halys rivers. This is Inner Pontos, once the heart of Mithradates' state, which, unlike coastal Pontos, long resisted Hellenisation, giving it a peculiar social structure and outlook<sup>14</sup> which seems to have lingered in the middle ages. It is an area of comparatively fertile valleys, wide ranches and upland pastures which fringes the heavily watered and forested Pontic coastlands. Its outlets to Greek coastal Pontos run through high passes to the ports of Sinope, Paurai, Amisos, Oinaion and Trebizond. Its interior defences depend upon a string of formidable castles: Theodosiupolis, Paipertes, Sebasteia, Cheriana,<sup>15</sup> Koloneia,<sup>16</sup> Taulara, Neokaisareia, Komana, Amaseia and Charsianon Kastron.<sup>17</sup> At various times the Gabrades were

<sup>13</sup> A. Bausani, s.v. 'Gabr' in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (London-Leiden 1965), II. xxxviii, p. 970.

<sup>14</sup> 'It is not surprising that inland Pontus, remote and mountain-girt as it was, should have remained unaffected by Hellenism. In fact, save for the adjacent Cappadocia, no portion of Asia Minor was so untouched by the influence of the West. Down to the time of the Roman conquest there prevailed the old Asianic system of domain-land belonging to the king or to the nobles on whom he had probably bestowed it. Both king and nobles owned fortified strongholds which they used as residences, and around these were villages which served as economic centres . . . In such a system cities, in the Greek sense of the word, were entirely lacking': Magie, *Roman Rule*, I, pp. 179-80.

<sup>15</sup> The fortified sites at Uluşiran (4 km. north of modern Şiran, now called Erenkaya) and at Mumya Kale, near Norşun (now called Akbulak), 8 km. further north, would bear investigation as the site of Cheriana. Uluşiran appears to be the older settlement, but Mumya Kale is a larger Byzantine walled settlement of about 2½ acres in extent. See the *Gümüşhane II Yılı 1967* (Ankara 1968), pp. 131-5.

<sup>16</sup> See Hasan Tahsin Okutan, *Şebinkarahisar ve civarı* (n.p. 1949), pp. 42-109.

<sup>17</sup> For these castles, see references in Magie, *Roman Rule*; J. G. C. Anderson, 'A Journey of exploration in Pontus', *Studia Pontica* (Brussels 1903), I; and Franz and Eugène Cumont, 'Voyage d'exploration dans le Pont et la Petite Arménie', *Studia Pontica* (Brussels 1906), II.

associated with, or controlled, all these valleys, passes, ports and strongholds. Based on the old theme of Chaldia, they erected what amounted to an independent province from the 1060s until after 1140 which coincided with the first, Danishmendid, Turkoman settlement in the area, leaving the Greeks only Chaldia and the coast.

The autonomy of the Gabrades is part of a pattern of local lordships which arose from the breakdown of security in eastern Anatolia, under Seljuk pressure, from the 1050s. But it was not until well into the twelfth century that the Seljuks were able to provide a substitute government. From the confusion arose, for example, the vast and ephemeral lordship of the Armenian Philaretos Vahram. Frankish mercenary leaders in Byzantine service, turned rebel, were also finding the situation a happy hunting ground for their ambitions, even before the great imperial defeat at Manzikert in 1071. In 1069 Crispin, an Italian mercenary captain, set himself up in the massive fortress of Koloneia, which controls the Pontic alum mines and had been the fief of the Kekaumenos family. On Crispin's death in 1073 he was succeeded as ruler of the Lykos-lower Halys valleys by Roussell de Bailleul at Amaseia, the ancient Pontic castle which towers above the Halys. Crispin, at least, was popular with his subjects, for the area was already disaffected with the central government. Its mixed population had received a substantial influx of Armenian refugees from the eastern borders throughout the eleventh century and there was a higher Armenian than Greek proportion until this century. In 1021 Basil II had annexed Vaspourakan and given its Artzruni rulers the fief of Sebasteia; in 1064 Gagik, last Bagratid ruler of Kars, had been installed in Komana and Amaseia by the Byzantines. Among other indignities the Greeks complained that Gagik had tied their Metropolitan of Kaisareia up in a sack with his dog (undiplomatically called 'Armen') and that the Artzruni princes of Sebasteia were 'worse than the Turks'; Romanos IV Diogenes deposed them on the way to his own defeat at Manzikert in 1071. It is not surprising that the Frankish lordships south of the Pontic Alps were the prelude to successful Danishmendid infiltration by the 1080s, for the only evidence of Byzantine government in the area for up to fifty years before was demands for troops and, occasionally, taxes.<sup>18</sup>

Nor is it surprising that the lordship of the Gabrades, north of the Pontic Alps and in Chaldia, was the prelude to an independent Pontic Greek state which survived until 1461. There seem to be two reasons why the Gabrades held these lands. First their subjects were Greek, or rather Pontic Greek, and did not include the disaffected Armenian element

<sup>18</sup> See J. Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs Seldjoucides dans l'Asie Occidentale jusqu'en 1081* (Paris-Nancy 1913), *passim*.

of the Lykos valley. Secondly the old Byzantine theme system survived more or less intact in Chaldia as a local defence force. It is true that what were left of the earlier theme defences were severely used in the eleventh century. Constantine IX Monomachos (1042-55) was obliged to garrison the Pontic watch-towers, which overlook the Trebizond caravan road, with Franks and Varangians.<sup>19</sup> The themes were further denuded in 1057 when Nikephoros Katakalon Kekaumenos (a military aristocrat who perhaps wrote the *Strategikon*, with its Machiavellian advice to castle-holders and local warlords on how to make good during rebellions against the central government, in the 1070s) raised the theme levies of Sebasteia, Koloneia and Chaldia to support Isaac Komnenos' rebellion.<sup>20</sup> But the forces with which Theodore Gabras (No. 3) drove the Turks out of Trebizond in 1075 were undoubtedly local Chaldian troops, following a native Pontic leader. The incident proved, as elsewhere, that the Turks were not in a position to resist determined local opposition when they encountered it. That they were probably derived from the old theme levies, diverted to a local purpose, is suggested by the fact that the theme structure of Chaldia, complete with its *banda*, regular cavalry and castle guards, survived to defend the Empire of Trebizond up to 1461, four centuries after the theme system was largely a memory in other parts of the Byzantine world.<sup>21</sup>

So far as Byzantine chroniclers were concerned, the Gabrades of the tenth to twelfth centuries were incorrigible provincial rebels, to be subdued by taking hostages, intermarriage with the imperial family, grant of official titles or (ultimately) punitive expeditions. Local Pontic and Turkoman sources present a different picture. Theodore Gabras (No. 3) was canonised; the Danishmendids did much the same thing by remembering him as a legendary opponent. But local sources are of a different nature—heroic poetry carried through oral tradition. This kind of material is always tricky to analyse and the authenticity of surviving Greek heroic poetry celebrating the Gabrades, even from Stavri, is so suspect that I have not used it at all.<sup>22</sup> But the Turkoman *Melikdanishmendname* can

<sup>19</sup> Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs*, p. 53.

<sup>20</sup> Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs*, p. 33; *Cecaumeni Strategikon et incerti scriptores de officiis regis libellus* (edd. B. Wassiliewsky and V. Jernstedt, St. Petersburg 1896; Amsterdam 1965), pp. 36 ff. Cf.: G. Buckler, 'Authorship of the Strategikon of Cecaumenos', in *BZ*, XXXVI (1936), pp. 7-26.

<sup>21</sup> Anthony Bryer, *The Society and Institutions of the Empire of Trebizond* (thesis, Oxford 1967), pp. 287-98, 351-87.

<sup>22</sup> For the 'Ballad of Gabras' and songs about Constantine Gabras (No. 5), see Demetrios K. Papadopoulos, 'Poikila asmata tou choriou Stavrin', in *Archeion Pontou*, XI (1941), pp. 29-30; *ibid.*, 'Asmata tou choriou Stavrin', in *AP*, XIII (1948), p. 216. Antonios Gabras, 'Asma palaion aphieromenon eis ton strategon Gabran', in *Pontiake Hestia*, CVI-CVIII (1958), pp. 4935-40; G. A. Megas, 'Palaia historika tragoudia tou

be controlled to some extent.<sup>23</sup> Although it cannot be used as a direct historical source, it offers, in epic terms, what is probably a realistic memory of the Danishmendid settlement south of the Pontic Alps in Koloneia and Djanik up to the middle years of the twelfth century. The 'Gabrades' remembered in the *Melikdanishmendname* are composite figures; no attempt has been made to relate them with particular historic Gabrades, but they merit inclusion here in a separate section.

North-east, like many other parts, of Anatolia was not 'conquered' by a Seljuk army defeating a Byzantine army. Between c. 1072 and some date after 1106 the Pontos did not see either. But between those two dates the area was largely infiltrated and settled in a series of encounters between Turkoman groups and local Byzantinised leaders who encroached on each others' spheres of political authority (the control of the valley castles, which were taken and retaken piecemeal) and economic influence (the control of the passes and grazing lands).<sup>24</sup> Although rivals, the Gabrades and Danishmendids probably had more in common than they had with the Komnenoi of Constantinople or Seljuks of Konya. The separatist outlook of their Pontic Greek and Armenian subjects drew them

Pontou', in *Laographia*, VII (1958), pp. 373-82. But in two works of masterly literary detection, Dr. Odysseus Lampsides has demonstrated that most of the 'Ballad of Gabras', as it now stands, is a combination of lines taken from *Digenis Akritas* and from Constantine Manasses (in *CSHB* [ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1837]), assembled by Archimandrite Anthimos Gabras in 1896-1904: see 'He Chronike Synopsis tou Manasse kai hen "asma tou Gabra"', *AP*, XXII (1958), pp. 199-219; and 'To akritikon epos kai to "asma tou Gabra"', in *AP*, XXIII (1959), pp. 33-8. This modern tampering is unfortunate because there undoubtedly existed a genuine oral tradition concerning the Gabrades in the Pontos, which cannot now be used. The association of the medieval Gabrades of the 'Ballad' with Zigana (where there is a medieval watchtower and staging post at Kalkandere, below the pass) and Atra, although locally believed (especially by the modern Gabrades of Atra), therefore seems highly dubious. There is a spring called 'Fountain of Gabras' ('*Bryse tou Gabra*') between Atra and Argyropolis. Although there had been a number there, I saw no Greek monument in Atra in 1967, but late and post-Byzantine churches survive in the area. The name Atra (now called Edra) makes one wonder if it was not perhaps the see ('*hedra*') of the fourteenth-century Metropolitans of Chaldia, or maybe a bailiwick of the local land-owning monastery of St. George, Choutoura. See G. Kandilaptes, 'Geographikon kai historikon lexikon tes eparchias Chaldias', in *Pontiaka Phylla*, XIII (1937), p. 19; I. P. Eleutheriades, *Historikon Schediasma peri tes eparchias Chaldias* (Athens 1903), pp. 64-5; and A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Trapezountiaka', in *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, V (1898), p. 679.

<sup>23</sup> Irène Mélikoff, *La geste de Melik Danişmend*, I (Paris, 1960); *ibid.*, s.v. 'Danishmendids', in *EI* (Leiden-London 1961), II, xxiv, pp. 110-1. Cf.: Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 82: 'an intricate blend of genuine memories and legendary versions (which has) unfortunately been accepted as authentic by Ottoman historiographers and, following them, even by modern authors'.

<sup>24</sup> Greek '*parcharia*', Armenian '*leri*', Turkish '*yayla*'; cf.: X. de Planhol, 'À travers les chaînes pontiques. Plantations côtières et vie montagnarde', in *Bulletin de l'Association de Géographes Français*, CCCXI-CCCXII (1963), pp. 2-12; and Anthony Bryer, 'Rural Society in the Empire of Trebizond', in *AP*, XXVIII (1966), pp. 152-60.

together. Theodore Gabras (No. 3) may have been a martyr to the infidel, but in Turkoman heroic poetry he is a gallant, if tenacious, opponent, while his daughter apostatised and joined the Melik. Danishmend's son may have been acclaimed '*Ghazi*', wielder of the holy sword of Islam, but he was allied with Gregory Gabras (No. 4) and the official titles of his dynasty, always inscribed in Greek on its coins, ran 'Grand Melik of All Romania and the East', a foretaste of those of the Grand Komnenoi, 'Roman' emperors of 'All the East'. Bahramshah, successor to ibn Mangudjak, the ally of Constantine Gabras (No. 5), even issued coins bearing the bust of what appears to be a Byzantine military saint or emperor<sup>25</sup> and disputed the inheritance of the estates of Hasan Gabras (No. 10), the Seljuk vizir, near Erzindjan. In all probability the lands of St. Theodore Gabras (No. 3) passed within a century of his martyrdom to a Muslim Gabras and to an emir of Erzindjan, through normal family inheritance.

From the mid-1160s Konya and Constantinople moved independently against the troublesome Danishmendids and Gabrades. Despite the efforts of Manuel I Komnenos, the Seljuks took Neokaisareia in 1175 and exterminated the Danishmend dynasty in 1178; they reached the sea at Amisos soon after.<sup>26</sup> Further east the Komnenoi reincorporated Chaldia into their empire from about 1165. In some respects the entry of the first Grand Komnenos into Chaldia in 1204 may be regarded as a local continuation of a dynastic rivalry which had begun with Alexios I Komnenos and Theodore Gabras (No. 3) a century before. It is significant that the Grand Komnenoi adopted and energetically promoted St. Eugenios as their patron, rather than St. Theodore Gabras who, as the real founder of late medieval Pontic separatism, would have been much more appropriate. The Grand Komnenos Alexios III even abandoned the monastery of St. Theodore Gabras to the Venetian quarter in Trebizond in 1364; there appears to have been another Gabras monastery in fourteenth-century Constantinople.<sup>27</sup> But in Chaldia the family seems to have been crushed by the Komnenoi and, with one notable exception (No. 15), no important Gabras is found in the Empire of Trebizond (1204-1461).

<sup>25</sup> Examples of the coins of Ghazi Gümüştegin and Bahramshah in the P. D. Whitting Collection, Barber Institute, University of Birmingham.

<sup>26</sup> Niketas Choniates in *CSHB* (ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1835), p. 689. Cf.: P. Wittek, 'Von der Byzantinischen zur Türkischen Toponymie', in *Byzantion*, X (1935), pp. 41-5 and Charles M. Brand, *Byzantium confronts the West, 1180-1204* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), p. 138.

<sup>27</sup> Or, perhaps, a monastery founded by a Gabras; it is mentioned by John VI Kantakouzenos in *CSHB* (ed. L. Schopen, Bonn 1831), II, p. 141. Not in R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire Byzantin* (Paris 1953), I, iii.

After the simultaneous collapse of the Gabrades and their Danishmendid rivals, three opportunities were open to the Gabrades: to save their lands south of the Pontic Alps and some of their influence by joining their new Seljuk masters in Konya; to save some of their influence with the Komnenoi (derived from the marriage alliances of Nos. 4 and 7, which may account for the names of Nos. 18 and 19), but not, it seems, their estates north of the Pontic Alps, by joining their new masters in Constantinople; or to launch into the Byzantine province most closely linked to their former lands and now free of Constantinople—the Crimea.

Of the Gabrades who chose the Seljuk solution, Cahen observes: 'il y aurait eu une branche de la famille qui aurait délibérément, et non au hasard d'une circonstance occasionnelle, choisi, pour conserver sa position en Asie Mineure, de jouer le jeu turc'.<sup>28</sup> Five Gabrades (Nos. 6, 9-12) served under the Seljuk sultans from the 1140s. At least one (No. 12) retained his Christian faith. In Byzantium Manuel I Komnenos employed at least two Gabrades (Nos. 7 and 8). Members of the family were naturally suited as envoys between sultan, emperor and pope. But in Constantinople, after 1204, and in Konya, after the late thirteenth-century Seljuk decline, both branches of the family lost their influence with that of their new masters. There are a number of fourteenth-century Byzantine Gabrades (Nos. 17-33), but the dynasty was no longer coherent, with distinctive characteristics. Some were peasants, who had perhaps adopted the name of their lords (Nos. 20-28), and none reached the highest posts. The most influential was Michael Gabras (No. 30), who ranked after the fifth office in the hierarchy of the Great Church, but in the civil list N. Gabras Komnenos (No. 19) was 59th in order of precedence and John Gabras Kabellarios (No. 32) stood 72nd.<sup>29</sup> One branch of the family reappeared in Patriarchal service in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Nos. 41 and 42) and another in Crete.

The most distinguished member of the scattered Gabrades of fourteenth-century Byzantium was Michael Gabras (No. 30), one of the famous group of savants which included Choumnos, Gregoras and Planoudes. But he is the least known of all late Byzantine major literary figures. A study of his 454 surviving, but largely unpublished, letters has long been recognised as one of the desiderata of late Byzantine studies,<sup>30</sup> but it must be said that their style is undeniably daunting.

<sup>28</sup> Cahen, *Polychronion*, p. 149.

<sup>29</sup> The pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des Offices* (ed. J. Verpeaux, Paris 1966), pp. 318, 345-6. Although Verpeaux states that the civil index and list 'ne sont pas des témoins de la hiérarchie à la cour de Trébizonde' (p. 343), he does not mention that they are included in Cod. Marc. Gr. 608 immediately after the unique version of Panaretos and in the same hand, which calls for further investigation.

<sup>30</sup> Cf.: S. P. Lambros, 'Byzantinische Desiderata', in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, I (1892), p. 189.

Evidence for the Gabrades who took the Crimean solution rests upon the identification (strongly argued by Vasiliev and others) of the Russianised name Khovra with Gabras. I have accepted the identification, which has never seriously been questioned, but have not included all putative Crimean 'Gabrades'. The Tauric Chersonnese had probably formed part of Manuel I Komnenos' empire, but had certainly seceded from Byzantium by the 1190s. From 1204 until after 1223 (in which year the Crimean tribute ship to Trebizond was seized by the Armenian Seljuk governor of Sinope<sup>31</sup> and the peninsula received its first Tatar attack),<sup>32</sup> part of the Crimea was a dependent of Trebizond. Thereafter Tatar pressure became stronger from the north and the Genoese founded their colonies along the south-eastern coast from 1274. In the mid-fourteenth century we first hear of an independent Greek principality, based on the great fortress of Theodoro-Mangup in the north-east. In the 1390s there comes evidence that these Greek princes of Gotthia bear the name Khovra, or Gabras.<sup>33</sup>

As an explanation for the Crimean Gabrades, Braun and Vasiliev agree in speculating that a branch of the family may have established themselves in the Crimea as early as the twelfth century. In 1890 Braun suggested that one of Manuel I Komnenos' servants, such as Michael Gabras (No. 7), could have been appointed toparch of Gotthia, adding that 'Perhaps the future will bring some new material which may help to solve this question'.<sup>34</sup> In 1935 Vasiliev proposed that the disappearance of Constantine Gabras (No. 5) from our sources after c. 1140 'may be explained by the fact that he was sent into exile after the occupation of Trebizond by Byzantium; since the Crimea was the usual place of exile for dangerous political criminals, he was exiled there . . . Gabras undoubtedly brought to the Crimea the innate tendency of his family to struggle against Byzantium'.<sup>35</sup>

The hypotheses of Braun and Vasiliev are dubious. They make no

<sup>31</sup> John (Joseph) Lazaropoulos in *Fontes historiae imperii Trapezuntini* (ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, St. Petersburg 1897-Amsterdam 1965), I, pp. 116-8. Cf.: Claude Cahen, 'Le commerce anatolien au début du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Mélanges Louis Halphen* (Paris 1951), p. 95.

<sup>32</sup> Maria G. Nystazopoulou, *Ile en Taurike Chersoneso polis Sougdaia* (Athens 1965), p. 119, entry 8.

<sup>33</sup> G. I. Bratianu, *Recherches sur le commerce Génois dans la Mer Noire au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris 1929), pp. 197-250; Vasiliev, *Goths*, pp. 182-8, 198-200; N. Bănescu, 'Contribution à l'histoire de la Seigneurie de Théodoro-Mangoup en Crimée', in *BZ.* XXXV (1935), p. 37.

<sup>34</sup> F. A. Braun, *Die letzten Schicksale der Krimgoten* (St. Petersburg 1890), pp. 44-5; cited in Vasiliev, *Goths*, p. 153.

<sup>35</sup> Vasiliev, *Goths*, p. 157. There is no evidence for the notion that it was No. 34 who was driven out of the Pontos by the Grand Komnenos Manuel III.

attempt to explain away the two centuries of silence in our sources between Michael Gabras (No. 7) or Constantine Gabras (No. 5) and the first named Khovra (No. 34). Ruling families do not go underground for two centuries, even in the late medieval Crimea where sources are not un plentiful. But new material, for which Braun hoped, may be provided in the person of N. Ghadras (No. 15), *archon* of Sinope during its brief recapture by the Grand Komnenos Manuel I in the late 1250s and early 1260s, and by an understanding of the relationship between the Crimea and Sinope. Even today communications with Sinope are largely maritime and the roads into the Paphlagonian mountain hinterland are abominable.<sup>36</sup> The port is over 100 km. closer to the Crimean trading stations than it is to either Constantinople or Trebizond. Indeed the Grand Komnenoi may have regarded not only the Crimea, but the Crimea and Sinope combined, as the '*Perateia*' ('Lands Beyond [the sea]') of their title.<sup>37</sup> Late medieval links between Sinope and the grain ports of Caffa and Sougdaia were close and, as the Seljuks found in the thirteenth century and the Isfendiyaroghlu emirs thereafter, Sinope makes an excellent base for raiding the Crimea and its shipping. So N. Ghadras (No. 15) may represent a branch of the family which, driven from Djanik by the Seljuks, still maintained ties with Trapezuntine Chaldia, but was forced onwards to a natural refuge in the Crimea. The same sort of grazing economy that existed in Inner Djanik could be followed around Theodoro-Mangup. N. Ghadras may therefore provide the hitherto missing link between the Anatolian Gabrades and Crimean Khovra and between Djanik and Gotthia. It is no more than a hypothesis, but is at least more plausible than those of Braun and Vasiliev. From Djanik to the Crimea the Gabrades were but following the flight of the aged Mithradates VI Eupator, King of Pontos, in 64 B.C., and for much the same reasons.

In 1426 Maria (No. 40), one of the last of the ruling Khovra, married David, last Grand Komnenos, who surrendered Trebizond to Mehmet II in 1461. Alexander, last prince of Gotthia, lost Theodoro-Mangup to the sultan in 1475.<sup>38</sup> The name survived as Gavrasov or Gavradow among the Greeks of the Sea of Azov, and as Gabras in Trapezuntine Chaldia.

<sup>36</sup> See W. Leaf, 'The Commerce of Sinope', in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXVI (1916), pp. 1-15; and W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen Âge* (Leipzig 1885/6-Amsterdam 1967), I, pp. 550 ff.; pp. 359 f., 372 f.

<sup>37</sup> Chrysanthos Philippides, Metropolitan of Trebizond, 'He ekklesia Trapezountos', in *AP*, IV-V (1933), p. 94.

<sup>38</sup> Vasiliev, *Goths*, pp. 244-68. Franz Babinger improbably confuses Alexander with the incestuous Grand Komnenos Alexander, brother of David, making Theodoro-Mangup the last refuge of the Grand Komnenoi—see *Mahomet II le Conquerant et son temps* (Paris 1954), pp. 256, 261, 419. Cf.: Pero Tafur, *Travels and Adventures, 1435-1439* (ed. M. Letts, London 1926), p. 130.

whence members of the family have emigrated to Jerusalem and Buenos Aires, until this century.<sup>39</sup>

Brief biographies of 43 Gabrades follow. It is possible that further Gabrades can be added with the publication of more late Byzantine cartularies and of the appropriate volume of V. Laurent's *Corpus des sceaux de l'empire Byzantin*.<sup>40</sup> An attempt has been made to sort out the identities of the Gabrades as dukes of Chaldia (Nos. 3-5), but other solutions are arguable and the identity of Gregory Gabras (No. 4) with Gregory Taronites, although long accepted, cannot be proved beyond doubt. No stemma can be attempted and the fourteenth-century Gabrades are particularly disparate. I am doubtful of the existence of a Theodore (II) Gabras, noted by Bees, and have not included him.<sup>41</sup>

*Nos. 1-2. The early Gabrades, c. 979—c. 1040*

- (1) CONSTANTINE (I) GABRAS. Anatolian rebel warlord, probably with relations with the emir of Mosul. Supported Bardas (Vrdat) Skleros against Basil II. Killed in 979, either at Amorion or at Sarabinai in the theme of Charsianon, probably in single combat with Bardas Phokas, duke of the themes of Chaldia-Koloneia.<sup>42</sup>
- (2) MICHAEL (I) GABRAS. Plotted with the *patrikios* Gregory Taronites and Theodosios Mesanyktes against the Grand Domestic Constantine, brother of Michael IV the Paphlagonian. Arrested and blinded in 1040.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Sabbas Ioannides, *Historia kai statistike Trapezountos* (Constantinople 1870), p. 42; Kandilaptes, loc. cit.; Vasiliev, *Goths*, p. 158.

<sup>40</sup> The eleventh- or twelfth-century seal of an otherwise unknown Nikephoros Gabras is noted in V. Laurent, *Les bulles métriques dans la sigillographie Byzantine* (Athens 1932), No. 653, p. 221 (Coll. Shaw).

<sup>41</sup> N. A. Bees, s.v. 'Gabras' in the Eleutheroudakis *Egkyklopaïdikon Lexikon* (Athens 1927), III, p. 667, lists a Theodore (II) Gabras, independent *archon* of Amisos after 1204, but cites no source. I have been unable to trace this Gabras and suspect that he may have emerged from a confusion in a passage in Akropolites between Theodore (of Philadelphia) and Sabas of Sampson. However, since Bees' article, it has been pointed out that the Sampson of the passage refers not to Amisos (Samsun), but to Priene. See G. de Jerphanion, 'Sampson et Amisos, une ville à déplacer de neuf cents kilomètres', in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, I (1935), pp. 257 ff.; and P. Orgels, 'Sabas Asinédos, dynaste de Sampsôn', in *B.* X (1935), pp. 67-80.

<sup>42</sup> George Kedrenos (= John Skylitzes) in *CSHB* (ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1839), II, pp. 379, 426, 430-1. Cf.: N. Adontz, *Études Arméno-Byzantines* (Lisbon 1965), pp. 298-9; and Gustave Schlumberger, *L'épopée Byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle* (Paris 1896), I, p. 406; P. M. Tarnichvili, 'Le soulèvement de Bardas Skléros', in *BK.* XVII-XVIII (1964), pp. 95-7. There could be a confusion in Kedrenos-Skylitzes between the deaths of Skleros and Gabras.

<sup>43</sup> Kedrenos-Skylitzes in *CSHB*, II, p. 531; cf.: Adontz, *Études*, p. 244.

Nos. 3-5. *Dukes of the theme of Chaldia, c. 1067—c. 1140*

- (3) (SAINT) THEODORE GABRAS, or GAURAS. *Sebastos, patrikios*, 'megalomartyr' and independent duke of Chaldia. Native of Chaldia. Married (i) Eirene (? a Taronitissa) before 1067, who died before 1091; (ii) a high-born Alan, cousin of the wife of his intimate, the *Sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos. Anna Komnene notes that he was a consistently successful local military leader, but 'violent' and 'energetic' in character. After recapturing Trebizond from the Turks in 1075 (their occupation had lasted no more than three years), he retired to Constantinople, but Alexios I Komnenos appointed him duke of Chaldia in an attempt to rid the capital of him; instead he 'alotted (Chaldia) to himself as if it were his own property and was irresistible'. There he defended Koloneia and Neokaisareia against the emir Danishmend, Trebizond against the Georgians and recaptured Paipertes from the Turks. In 1091 he attempted to kidnap his son (No. 4), then hostage of Alexios I, from Constantinople. He died fighting the Turks at Theodosiupolis in 1098. A hero of Pontic Greek and Turkoman poetry, he was recognised as a martyr in the twelfth century and as a saint by the fourteenth. In the Orthodox calendar his feast day is on 2 October.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Anna Komnene in *CSHB* (ed. L. Schopen, Bonn 1878), I, pp. 417-8; II, p. 99 (= *The Alexiad of the princess Anna Komnena* [tr. E. A. S. Dawes, London 1928-1967], pp. 210-3, 284); John Zonaras in *CSHB* (ed. T. B. Wobst, Bonn 1897), III, p. 739; the imperial letter of May 1091 in Franz Dolger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Ostromischen Reiches von 565-1453* (Munich-Berlin 1925), II, p. 40, No. 1161; John (Joseph) Lazaropoulos in *FHIT*, I, pp. 59, 119; for the Sinai MS. of 1067 with portraits of Eirene and Theodore as toparch, see Vasiliev, *Goths*, pp. 154-5; for the inscription on the reliquary of his skull, in Cod. Marc. Gr. 524, see S. P. Lambros, 'Ho Markianos kodix, 524', in *Neos Hellenomnemon*, VIII (1911), p. 17; for his surviving ducal seal, see G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Empire Byzantin* (Paris 1884-Turin 1963), p. 665; for his monastery in the eastern suburb of Trebizond, see D. A. Zakythinos, *Le chrysobulle d'Alexis III Comnène, empereur de Trébizonde, en faveur des Vénitiens* (Paris 1932), pp. 28, 34, 78-9 and Anthony Bryer, 'The littoral of the Empire of Trebizond in two fourteenth-century portolano maps', in *AP*, XXIV (1961), pp. 112, 115-6; and for the *synaxarion* of St. Theodore, see François Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (Subsidia Hagiographica 8a, Brussels 1957), II, p. 275 and A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Symbolai eis ten historian Trapezountos', in *VV*, XII (1905), pp. 132-7. Cf.: Adontz, *Etudes*, pp. 247-8; H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la Mer* (Paris 1966), p. 188; Israel Basileades, 'Dyo historikoi stathmoi, 1461 kai 1916', in *Hoi Komnenoi*, V (Trebizond 1916), pp. 7-8; L. Bréhier, *Le monde Byzantin* (Paris 1948), II, p. 306; F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène* (Paris 1912-New York n.d.), I, pp. 12, 146; II, p. 37; Fallmerayer, *Trapezunt*, pp. 18-9; W. Fischer, 'Trapezus im 11 und 12 Jahrhundert', in *Mitteilung des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, X (Innsbruck 1889), pp. 177-207; Janssens, *Trébizonde*, pp. 56-8; Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs*, p. 67; William Miller, *Trebizond, the last Greek empire [of the Byzantine era]* (London 1926-ed. A. C. Bandy, Chicago 1969), pp. 12-13, 67, where Theodore the duke and Theodore the martyr are regarded as distinct; and Chrysanthos Philippides, in *AP*, IV-V (1933), pp. 56 and 456-7.

- (4) GREGORY (I) GABRAS, or GAURAS, ?*alias* TARONITES. Son of No. 3 and Eirene ?Taronitissa. Brought up as a hostage in Constantinople by Alexios I Komnenos. Betrothed, when very young, to the daughter of the *Sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos, but on his father's second marriage the engagement was broken off through the Alan consanguinity of the wives of Isaac and Theodore (No. 3). Later married Maria Komnene, daughter of Alexios I, when she was aged six. Abortively kidnapped by his father to Karambis in 1091. Restored to Constantinople, but arrested for plotting against his father-in-law and for the theft of the Holy Nail and imprisoned in Philippopolis.

If this Gregory Gabras can be identified with Gregory Taronites, as Vasiliev and Cahen argue strongly from inconsistencies in the text of Anna Komnene (although Adontz is unable to reconcile the proposition with the present dating of the letters of Theophylact of Ochrida, which have their own inconsistencies), then part of the remainder of Gregory's career as Taronites can be established.

In c. 1103 he was appointed duke of Chaldia (Trebizond and Tebenna) to replace the apparently ineffectual Dabetenos, successor to No. 3. But Anna Komnene notes that Gregory 'had long been hatching rebellion (and) disclosed his secret on his way to Trebizond'. His activities thereafter convinced Alexios I that Gregory 'was heading towards complete madness'. Theophylact of Ochrida suggests that he helped negotiate the ransom of Bohemund of Antioch, imprisoned in Neokaisareia by the emir Danishmend in 1100-3 (after Raymond of St.-Gilles and a Lombard crusade, bent on freeing Bohemund, came to grief near Amaseia in 1101, the survivors escaping through Paurai). Gregory allied himself with the emir Danishmend and established himself in the massive theme castle of Koloneia by 1106. But he was captured by his relative John Komnenos, paraded with indignities through Constantinople, and imprisoned in the tower of Anemas. Although (in Anna Komnene's view) still restless and unrepentant, he was released, pardoned and reinstated in his honours after some years and before 1118. We do not know if he was reinstated in Chaldia.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Anna Komnene in *CSHB*, I, pp. 417-8; II, pp. 161-4 (= tr. Dawes, pp. 211-2, 315-6); Zonaras in *CSHB*, III, p. 739; Theophylact of Ochrida in *Patrologia Graeca* (ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris n.d.), CXXVI, letter xxvi, coll. 409-19; letter xxxvii, coll. 438-9; Dölger, *Regesten*, II, p. 48, No. 1222 of c. 1105. Cf.: N. Adontz, 'L'archevêque Théophylacte et le Taronite', in *B.* XI (1936), pp. 577-86; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 90; Chalandon, *Comnène*, I, pp. 146, 241-2; II, pp. 2, 20, 37, 152, 175-6; Melikoff, *Melikdanishmendname*, p. 119; Vasiliev, *Goths*, p. 155; Rodolphe Guiland, *Recherches sur les Institutions Byzantines* (Berlin-Amsterdam 1967), I, pp. 121, 243.

- (5) CONSTANTINE (II) GABRAS. Son, brother or (according to the unreliable *synaxarion* of St. Theodore Gabras) nephew of No. 3. Began his career as a resourceful general of Alexios I Komnenos, campaigning against Bohemund of Antioch and routing Melikshah before Philadelphia in 1112. Duke of Chaldia from before 1119 until after 1140, becoming virtually independent from c. 1126. During his early career Anna Komnene characterised him as 'conceited', 'discontented' and 'fire-breathing'. As duke of Chaldia all Byzantine sources agree that he ruled 'tyranically' (i.e. illegally). In 1119-1120 ibn Mangudjak, founder of the dynasty of Erzindjan, sought refuge with him against Balak of Melitene and the *Ghazi* Gümüshtegin, son of the emir Danishmend. Gümüshtegin defeated ibn Mangudjak and Constantine; 5,000 Greeks were killed or taken prisoner and Constantine was ransomed for 30,000 dinars. It was probably after this defeat that Neokaisareia was finally lost to the Danishmendids, although its earliest mosque was not built until 1180. In 1130 the rebel *Sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos (who also sought refuge with the *Ghazi* Gümüshtegin) negotiated with Constantine. In 1139-1140 John II Komnenos led an abortive expedition to reconquer Djanik and restore Chaldia to his empire, but was unable to take Neokaisareia. During the campaign, John Komnenos (the '*chelebi*'), son of the *Sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos, defected to the Turks. He married 'Kamero', daughter of the Seljuk sultan Masud and son-in-law of Gümüshtegin; the Ottomans were later to claim descent from the alliance. The date of Constantine's death, after the failure of John II's expedition against him, is unknown. By the mid-1160s Chaldia was again part of the empire and Nikephoros Palaiologos its new duke.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Anna Komnene in *CSHB*, II, pp. 208-9, 265, 268-9, 283, 329 (= tr. Dawes, pp. 339, 368, 370, 377, 401) for his early career; Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Abd al-Karim (Izzal-din Abu al-Hasan) (= ibn al-Athir) in *Recueil des historiens des croisades : Historiens orientaux* (Paris 1872), I, p. 341, and Michael the Syrian, *Chronique* (ed. and tr. J. B. Chabot, Paris 1899-1910), III, pp. 205, 230, 248, for the events of 1119, which Miller (*Trebizond*, pp. 12-3) and Janssens (*Trebizonde*, p. 58) ascribe to the career of Gregory Taronites; Niketas Choniates in *CSHB* (ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1835), p. 45, the *Synopsis Chronike* in *Mesaionike Bibliothek* (ed. K. N. Sathas, Venice-Paris 1894), VII, p. 205 and Ephraim the Monk in *CSHB* (ed. A. Maius, Bonn 1840), p. 168, II, 3959-3964, for John's expedition against Constantine in 1139-1140. Cf.: Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 93; *ibid.*, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris 1940), pp. 354, 366; *ibid.*, *Polychronion*, p. 146; Chalandon, *Comnène*, I, p. 265; II, pp. 37, 45-6, 81-4, 176-9; Melikoff, *Melikdanishmendname*, pp. 123-4, 134; L. Petit, 'Monodie de Théodore Prodrome sur Etienne Skylitzes, métropolitain de Trébizonde', in *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique Russe à Constantinople*, VIII (1902-3), pp. 1-14 (on the obstacles to ecclesiastical relations between Constantinople and Trebizond during Constantine's reign, on which see, however, E. Kurtz, in *BZ*, XIII [1904], p. 536); Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (Cambridge 1957), II, pp. 138, 219; and Vasiliev, *Goths*, pp. 155-6.

*The 'Gabrades' of the Melikdanishmendname*

The *Melikdanishmendname* is a Turkoman *Ghazi* epic romance which describes the Danishmendid conquest and settlement of Djanik (the lower Halys-Iris-Lykos valleys and west Pontic littoral in former Armeniakon).<sup>47</sup> It is recounted in terms of the exploits of the emir Danishmend, historically the rival of Nos. 3 and 4, who died in 1104. The epic was not put together until c. 1245 and the surviving version dates only from c. 1360, so it cannot be used for matters of historical fact. Some later twelfth-century incidents seem to have crept into it, and there is even the figure of Kiraklis of Trebizond (evidently *k̅yr* Alexios, first Grand Komnenos, 1204-1222).<sup>48</sup> Mélikoff argues that Theodore Gabras (No. 3) is the leading element in the composite figure of the Christian hero SHAH-I SHATTAT,<sup>49</sup> whose daughter EFROMIYA (?Eumorphia)<sup>50</sup> is an important character as an Amazon Christian bride, in the tradition of Byzantine, Armenian and Turkish heroic poetry. Efromiya turns Turkoman and joins the emir. It might be noted that, besides being the area associated with the first five Gabrades, the Pontos is also the classical home of the Amazons. It was from the Pontos that Maria Komnene (Seldjan Hatun), sister of the Grand Komnenos Alexios III, came to marry Fahrettin Kutlubey of the Turkoman Ak-koyunlu in 1352, an event described in amazonian terms in the Oghuz ballad cycle of *Dede Korkut* and laconically confirmed in a Trapezuntine Greek chronicle. Perhaps it was also known to Arif Ali, the final editor of the *Melikdanishmendname* in c. 1360.<sup>51</sup>

The *Melikdanishmendname* is not a normal historical source. With the possible exception of Shah-i Shattat, none of the Gabrades who appear in it can be said to have historical existence; they are only symbols of Pontic resistance. Nevertheless, as symbols, they provide an essential background to the careers of the historical Gabrades (Nos. 3-5) in their

<sup>47</sup> On Djanik and the Chepni Turkomans, whose thirteenth-century settlement may also be reflected in the *Melikdanishmendname*, see Bryer in *BK*, XXI-XXII (1966), pp. 191-2; XXIII-XXIV (1967), pp. 161-8.

<sup>48</sup> Mélikoff, *Melikdanishmendname*, p. 133.

<sup>49</sup> Mélikoff, *Melikdanishmendname*, pp. 203-4, 214-22, 435-6.

<sup>50</sup> Mélikoff, *Melikdanishmendname*, pp. 80-1, 110, 117, 133, 137-8.

<sup>51</sup> S. A. Nikolaides, 'Amazones kai Pontos', *AP*, XXVI (1964), pp. 250-6; *Dede Korkut, Oğuznamelevi* (ed. K. M. Fahrettin, Istanbul 1952), pp. 117-8; *Il Kitab-i Dede Qorqut* (Studi e Testi, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, No. 159, ed. E. Rossi, Rome 1952), pp. 31-3, 180-93, 219; *David of Sassoun* (tr. A. K. Shalian, Athens, Ohio, 1964), pp. 323-4; Michael Panaretos, *Peri ton Megalon Komnenon* (ed. O. Lampsides, Athens 1958), in ff. 294b-295a, 297a. Cf.: H. Grégoire, 'L'épopée Byzantine et ses rapports avec l'épopée turque et l'épopée romane', in *Bulletin de l'Académie royale Belique* (Classe des Lettres), XVII (1931), pp. 463-93; S. P. Kyriakides, 'Éléments historiques Byzantins dans le roman épique turque de Sayyid Battâl', in *B*, XI (1936), pp. 563-70 and I. Mélikoff, 'Géorgiens, Turcomans et Trébizonde: Notes sur le livre de Dede Korkut', in *BK*, XVII-XVIII (1964), pp. 18-28.

struggle with the Turkomans. It is most significant that neither the Seljuks nor Constantinople enter the encounter; in popular memory it was correctly recounted as a conflict between Danishmendids and the native peoples of the Pontos only.

The emir hero Melikdanishmend moves north and east towards the sea. In the epic, the steep castle of Neokaisareia is the main point of contention between him and the Greeks. Historically Danishmend probably made it his stronghold soon after the death of Theodore Gabras (No. 3) in 1098; the emir held Bohemund of Antioch prisoner there in 1100-3, but the fortress, on a spur of the Bulghar Dagħ,<sup>32</sup> remained a Greek objective throughout the twelfth century. Among other Christian foes in the epic is METR(OP)ID (i.e. a Greek Metropolitan bishop),<sup>33</sup> the sultan of Djanik. Metropid has four sons, NIKOLA (I), KOSTA (i.e. Constantine), GAVRAS and MIHAIL. Early on Melikdanishmend kills Nikola (I) and Kosta at Sebasteia and Mihail at Dokiya (now Tokat, the fortress on the peak west of Komana). But Gavras is more formidable, taking refuge first in Charsianon and then with his father Metropid, who summons the Trapezuntine and Armenian forces to Charsianon. Melikdanishmend kills Metropid, but, badly wounded, Gavras continues the struggle from Neokaisareia. The apostate amazon Efromiya, attractively disguised as a monk, lures Gavras and manages to capture the strategic monastery of St. Gregory Thaumaturgos of Neokaisareia ('*Sematurgos*', the Wonderworker, evangelist and patron of the city). Gavras is finally slain, but, after some hesitation over their faith, his sons YORGI (i.e. George) and NIKOLA (II) continue the struggle until they too are killed by the Danishmendid Turkomans.<sup>34</sup>

Nos. 6-13. *Gabrades in Seljuk and Byzantine service, c. 1146—c. 1256*

(6) N. GABRAS. 'Turkish satrap'. Of Byzantine origin but brought up in the Sultanate of Rum and fought against the Byzantines with the

<sup>32</sup> Mélikoff, *Melikdanishmendname*, pp. 157-9, raises a number of topographical problems. Reference to Ashikpashazade, *Vom Hirtenzeit zur Hohen Pforte* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1959), p. 225, indicates that this Bulghar Dagħ is probably the Bala-bandagh, part of the Pontic Alps or Paryadres. There is in fact no castle at Hargümbed and one wonders if the fortresses of Mesudiye or of the nearby Sisorta Kale ('Castle in the Mist') were not intended in the epic. There is no castle within sight of the Niksar-Akkuş-Unye road until 'Orgia' (Çaleoğlu Kale)—Gölkoy Kilise Kale, 50 km. south of Ordu, is an Ottoman Derebey stronghold. North of Taulara and near Hamidiye, at the headwaters of the Melanthios river up which John II seems to have marched from Kotyora (Ordu), is the site of Kinte, where the Byzantine army camped in 1139-1140, but no fortifications seem to survive there today (cf.: Chalandon, *Comnène*, II, pp. 177-8).

<sup>33</sup> Local defence against Turkish marauder often fell, perforce, upon the Metropolitans; cf.: the success of Niketas of Chonai in 1176 (Niketas Choniates in *CSHB*, pp. 254-7).

<sup>34</sup> Mélikoff, *Melikdanishmendname*, pp. 198-9, 423-52.

Seljuks. Captured from near Konya by Manuel I Komnenos and decapitated in 1146.<sup>55</sup> His son could be either No. 9 or 10.

- (7) MICHAEL (II) GABRAS. *Pansebastos sebastos, strategos*. Second husband of Eudokia Komnene, daughter of the *Sebastokrator* Andronikos Komnenos and celebrated mistress of her cousin Andronikos I Komnenos.<sup>56</sup> Duke of Sirmion on the Danube under Manuel I Komnenos, where he was defeated by Denis, *comes palatinus* of Stephen III of Hungary, in 1166. Member of the council which condemned the doctrines of John Eirenikos, abbot of Batala, in Constantinople on 11 February 1170. In 1175 Manuel I sent him to Djanik with the troops of Trebizond and Oinaion, but he abandoned Amaseia to the Seljuk Sultan Kilidj Arslan II. Kinnamos states that he was a 'most skilful' general, but his somewhat chequered career included a spell under arrest after the Amaseia incident.<sup>57</sup>
- (8) CONSTANTINE (III) GABRAS. Possibly son of No. 5. Sent by Manuel I Komnenos to negotiate with Kilidj Arslan II in 1162-3. Betrayed the emperor; 'traitor' (Niketas Choniates).<sup>58</sup>
- (9) N. GAVRAS. Emir. Brought up in Byzantium. Defected to Kilidj Arslan II, becoming a leading councillor at the Seljuk court. Twice the sultan's ambassador to Manuel I Komnenos during the Myriocephalon negotiations of 1175-6.<sup>59</sup> He, or his son, is probably identical with No. 10.

<sup>55</sup> John Kinnamos in *CSHB* (ed. A. Meineke, Bonn 1836), p. 56; Niketas Choniates in *CSHB*, p. 72. Cf.: Cahen, *Polychronion*, p. 147 ('on peut supposer qu'il fut racheté'); and Chalandon, *Comnène*, II, p. 256 ('il faut peut-être identifier avec le duc [i.e. No. 5] de Trébizonde').

<sup>56</sup> Andronikos I Komnenos, grandfather of the first Grand Komnenos Alexios, later took service as a freebooter under Mehmet ibn Saltuk of Erzurum, for whom he held a castle near Koloneia, on the Chaldian border, in 1173-1176/7. But Nikephoros Palaiologos, duke of Chaldia and successor to No. 5, kidnapped his cousin and most famous mistress, Theodora Komnene, ex-Queen of Jerusalem. Andronikos then crossed the border and held the Byzantine Pontos in fief, with Oinaion as his capital, from 1180-2. He became emperor in 1183 and was lynched two years later. The foundations of his castle at Oinaion are substantial. See O. Jurewicz, *Andronikos I. Komnenos* (Amsterdam 1970), p. 79; and Charles Diehl, 'Les romanesques aventures d'Andronic Comnène', in *Figures Byzantines* (Paris 1948), II, pp. 86-133.

<sup>57</sup> Kinnamos in *CSHB*, pp. 226, 238-9, 258, 293, 296, 299; Niketas Choniates in *CSHB*, pp. 135-40, 229; *Synopsis Chronike* in *MB*, VII, pp. 258, 264, 270; and L. Petit, 'Documents inédits sur le concile de 1166 et ses derniers adversaires', in *VF*, XI (1904), p. 490. Cf.: Cahen, *Polychronion*, p. 147; Chalandon, *Comnène*, II, pp. 2-3, 14-5, 23-30, 213, 219, 481, 502-6, 652; Miller, *Trebizond*, p. 13; A. B. Urbansky, *Byzantium and the Danube frontier* (New York 1968), p. 104.

<sup>58</sup> Niketas Choniates in *CSHB*, p. 159. Cf.: Chalandon, *Comnène*, II, pp. 467, 678 ('sans doute fils du' No. 5).

<sup>59</sup> Kinnamos in *CSHB*, p. 299; Niketas Choniates in *CSHB*, pp. 245-8; *Synopsis Chronike* in *MB*, VII, pp. 291-2. Cf.: Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 103; and Chalandon, *Comnène*, II, pp. 504-5, 512.

- (10) IKHTIYAR AD-DIN HASAN B. GHAFRAS or IKSTIYAR AL-DIN HASAN IBN GAVRAS. Vizir to Sultan Kilidj Arslan II, on whose behalf he negotiated with Saladin in 1180 and conveyed official Seljuk congratulations on the capture of Jerusalem in 1188. Regarded as a wise statesman and noted for the splendour of his robes and personal jewelry. Ousted from office on the death of Kilidj Arslan II in 1192, he retired to his estates near Erzindjan but was murdered by Turkomans on the way. Bahramshah, Mangudjakid emir of Erzindjan, claimed inheritance of the estates.<sup>40</sup> Hasan or his son is probably identical with No. 11.
- (11) N. GHWARAS (sc. GHAWRAS). Accused of poisoning Kilidj Arslan II and his son and successor Kaykhusraw in 1192.<sup>41</sup>
- (12) GIOVANNI (i.e. JOHN [I]) DE GABRA. Christian noble in Seljuk service. Envoy of Sultan Kaykubad I to Europe to discuss the relief of the Holy Land in 1234. Met Pope Gregory IX on 20 March 1235 and went on to see Emperor Frederick II. Returned to Konya in 1236.<sup>42</sup>
- (13) MIKHAIL (i.e. MICHAEL [III]) BAR GAVRAS. Physician at Melitene; fl. 1256.<sup>43</sup> The presence of Gabrades at Melitene could perhaps be traced to the prisoners taken from the army of No. 5 in 1119.

Nos. 14-16. *Gabrades in the Empire of Trebizond, c. 1204—c. 1345*

- (14) N. GABRAS. Founder of the monastery of the 'megalomartyr' St. George in Cheriana.<sup>44</sup> Could also be identical with any of Nos. 3-5.
- (15) N. GHADRAS. *Archon* of recaptured Sinope for the Grand Komnenos Manuel I, from 1254 (or 1258 or 1259) until 1265 (or 1267 or 1268), when he was killed on the *Pervane's* recapture of the port. Converted mosques into churches during his governorship.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Muhammad ibn Muhammad Imad al-Din (Al-Isbaham) (= Abu Shama) in *RHC, HO* (Paris 1898), IV, p. 347; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, III, p. 388. Cf.: Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 210 and *ibid.*, *Polychronion* p. 147.

<sup>41</sup> Cahen, *Polychronion*, p. 148, citing the *Seldjukname*, on which see P. Melioransky in *VV*, I (1894), p. 621.

<sup>42</sup> Golubovich, *BBB*, II, pp. 298-9. Cf.: Anthony Bryer, 'Trebizond and Rome', in *AP*, XXVI (1964), pp. 291-3.

<sup>43</sup> Mar Grigor Maphrian (= Abu al-Faradj) called Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum* (ed. and tr. J. B. Abbeloos and T. J. Lamy, Loranii 1872-7), II, p. 718.

<sup>44</sup> John (Joseph) Lazaropoulos in *FHIT*, I, p. 86.

<sup>45</sup> Ibn Shaddad in C. Cahen, 'Quelques textes négligés concernant les Turcomans de Rûm au moment de l'invasion Mongole', in *B*, XIV (1939), p. 138; and Nystazopoulou, *Sougdaia*, p. 120, entry 17. Cf.: M. Nystazopoulou, 'La dernière reconquête de Sinope par les Grecs de Trébizonde', *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, XXII (1964), pp. 241-9; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 284; and (on the problem of the *pervane's medrese* in Sinope, which is dated A.H. 661-1263 A.D., apparently during the Greek occupation), see Anthony Bryer, 'The church of Hagia Sophia in Trebizond', *Apollo*, XC (1969), p. 273.

- (16) GEORGE (III) GABRAS, GAUBAS or GAURAS. *Fl.* 1344/5. Smallholder in the *bandon* of Matzouka, south of Trebizond. Sold land to the monastery of St. John the Forerunner, Bazelon, on Mt. Zaboulon. Found in association with local government officials. A member of his family was captured by the (?Chepni) Turkomans.<sup>66</sup>

*Nos. 17-33. Gabrades in the Empire of Constantinople, c. 1299—c. 1356*

- (17) N. GABRAS. Mentioned in a letter of Maximos Planoudes to John Phakrases, c. 1299.<sup>67</sup> Could be identical with Nos. 29 or 30.
- (18) MANUEL DOUKAS KOMNENOS GAURAS. Benefactor of an unknown monastery at Mystra in 1300/1.<sup>68</sup>
- (19) N. GABRAS KOMNENOS. *Krites tou Phossatou* ('Judge of the Army') and 'slayer of the barbarians'; mentioned by Manuel Philes (c. 1275-c. 1345).<sup>69</sup>
- (20) DEMETRIOS GABRAS (or GAURAS) CHRITO(U)S. *Paroikos* of the monastery of Xeropotamou, Mt. Athos, with a holding in the *chorion* of Kontogrikou, *katepanikion* of Rebenikeia, c. 1300. His family includes his sister (21) K . . . ; his son (22) GEORGE (I) (who could be identical with No. 25); another son (23) M . . . ; and his daughter (24) KALE.<sup>70</sup>
- (25) GEORGE (II) GABRAS. *Paroikos* of the monastery of Xeropotamou, Mt. Athos, with a very modest holding in the *chorion* of Kontogrikou, *katepanikion* of Akros or Rebenikeia, c. 1315-1320. He could be identical with No. 22, son of No. 20. The family of George (II) include his brother (26) N. (perhaps identical with No. 23); his sister (27) ANNA; and his daughter (28) MARIA (I).<sup>71</sup>
- (29) JOHN (II) GABRAS. Brother of No. 30, whom he predeceased; Nikephoros Choumnos addressed a letter to both brothers. An anti-Palamite theologian, he was congratulated by Gregory Akyndinos

<sup>66</sup> MS. 36, ff. 43-6, 66-7, 69-70, 91-3, of the former Constantinople *Hellenikos Philologikos Syllogos*, now in the library of the Turk Tarih Kurumu, in Ankara. Cf.: the edition of the inferior cartulary of Bazelon, *Vazelonskie akty—Actes de Bazelon* (ed. F. J. Uspenskij and V. V. Beneshevich, Leningrad 1927), acts nos. 66, 96, 99, 102.

<sup>67</sup> *Maximi monachi Planoudis epistolae* (ed. M. Treu, Bratislava 1890-Amsterdam 1960), p. 16, no. IIX, 1. 51 and p. 303. Cf.: Nicol, *Kantakouzenoi*, p. 234.

<sup>68</sup> A. Boeckh and J. Franz, *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum* (Berlin 1877), IV, p. 350, no. 8763. Cf.: Polemis, *Doukai*, p. 120.

<sup>69</sup> *Manuelis Philae Carmina* (ed. E. Miller, Paris 1855-Amsterdam 1967), I, p. 293, 11. 37-41.

<sup>70</sup> Jacques Bompaigne, *Actes de Xéropotamou* (Archives de l'Athos, III, Paris 1964), acts nos. 18A, 1. 8; 18B, 11. 2-3.

<sup>71</sup> Bompaigne, *Xéropotamou*, act no. 18D iii, 1. 28.

for a work refuting Gregory Palamas, c. 1343. Author of a surviving but unpublished homily on *The Presentation of the Mother of God in the Temple*.<sup>12</sup>

- (30) MICHAEL (IV) GABRAS. *Sakellion* of the Great Church of Constantinople. Brother of No. 29. The most prolific of all Byzantine letter writers; Cod. Marc. Gr. 446 contains the surviving first volume of his letters, totalling 454, of which only four appear to have been published. His correspondents included Joseph Bryennios, Nikephoros Choumnos, John Glykys, Nikephoros Gregoras, Gregory of Dyrrachion, Joseph 'Rakendytes' the Philosopher, Michael Kaloerdas, John VI Kantakouzenos, George Lakapenos, Mathew of Ephesos, Theodore Moschamper, Alexios Doukas Philanthropenos, Maximos Planoudes and Nikephoros Xanthopoulos. They appear to have been written during the period 1305-1341. Lost works by Michael Gabras, mentioned in the letters, include a *Funeral Oration on the son of an Emperor* (?i.e. Michael IX Palaiologos, son of Andronikos II); a *Treatise on Dreams*; an *Elogy on the Emperor* (?i.e. Andronikos II Palaiologos); a *Threnos*; and a book of *Prayers*. He died before 1346.<sup>13</sup>

- (31) N. GABRAS. *Pronoiaros* in the *katepanikion* of Kalamaria. Died

<sup>12</sup> N. A. Bees, 'Ioseph Kalothetes kai anagraphe ergon autou', in *BZ*, XVII (1908), p. 88; J. E. Boissonade, *Anecdota graeca* (Paris 1830-Hildesheim 1962), II, pp. 238, 255, 296; *ibid.*, *Anecdota nova* (Paris 1844), pp. 35-6; Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos' *Life of Patriarch Isidore I*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in *Zapiski*, LXXVI (1905), pp. 107-8; *ibid.*, *Hierosolymitihe Bibliothek* (St. Petersburg 1891-7/Paris 1963), I, p. 397 (MS. with fragments by Gabras); II, pp. 209, 212 (MS. of Gabras' homily on the *Presentation*); R. Guiland, *Correspondance de Nicéphore Grégoras* (Paris 1927), p. 273; H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und Theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich* (Munich 1959), pp. 721-2; Metropolitan Athenagoras, 'Katalogos ton cheirographon tes en Chalke Mones tes Panagias', *EEBS*, XI (1935), p. 153 (MS. of Gabras' homily on the *Presentation*) and I. Ševčenko, 'Nicolaus Cabasilas' Correspondence', in *BZ*, XLVII (1954), pp. 51-2.

<sup>13</sup> A. M. Zanetti, *Graeca D. Marci Bibliotheca codicum manu scriptorum per titulos digesta* (Venice 1740), I, pp. 62, 239-42; N. B. Tomadakes, *Ho Ioseph Bryennios kai he Krite kata to 1400* (Athens 1947), p. 20; J. Verpeaux, *Nicéphore Choumnos, homme d'état et humaniste Byzantin* (Paris 1959), pp. 44 n. 5, 63, 70, 103; Guiland, *Grégoras*, pp. 270-4, 333-5 (where two letters are published); M. Treu, 'Der Philosoph Joseph', in *BZ*, VIII (1899), pp. 50-2; Nicol, *Kantakouzenoi*, pp. 96-7; *Georgii Lacapeni et Andronici Zaridae epistulae xxxii cum epimerismis Lacapeni, accedunt duae epistulae Michaelis Gabrae ad Lacapenum* (ed. S. Lindstam, *Collectio scriptorum veterum Upsaliensis*, Gothoburg 1924), pp. 184-9, 203-6 (where two letters are published) and L. Voltz, 'Die Schriftstellerei des Georgios Lakapenos', in *BZ*, II (1893), pp. 224-5; M. Treu, *Matthaios, Metropolit von Ephesos* (Potsdam 1901), p. 20, l. 15; S. P. Lambros, 'Archoteleiai epistolon', in *NE*, XII (1915), pp. 430-2; Polemis, *Doukai*, p. 169, no. 171; G. I. Theocharides, 'Demetrios Doukas Kabasilas kai alla prosopographika ex anekdotou chrysoboullou tou Kantakouzenou', in *Hellenika*, XVII (1962), p. 23; Guiland, *Recherches*, I, p. 256. I understand that Dr. Gerasimos E. Pentagalos is to publish Cod. Marc. Gr. 446, letter 288 (to 'Rakendytes').

before 1347. Theocharides' identification of this Macedonian land-owner with the savant No. 30 is improbable.<sup>74</sup>

- (32) JOHN (III) GABRAS KABALLARIOS. *Hetaireiarches* at Serres, fl. 1348.<sup>75</sup>
- (33) N. GABRAS. In service of Mathew Kantakouzenos, whom he inadvertently betrayed in Thrace in 1356.<sup>76</sup>

Nos. 34-40. *The Khoura of the Greek principality of Theodoro-Mangup in the Crimea, c. 1391—c. 1458*

- (34) STEPAN VASILYEVICH KHOVRA, KHOVRIN, KHOMRA or KOMRA. Prince of the Crimean Gotthia. His name implies a father called BASIL. Emigrated to Moscow in 1391 or 1403. Took the cowl under the name SIMON.<sup>77</sup>
- (35) ALEXIS (I). Son of No. 34. Prince of the Crimean Gotthia, ?1403-1444 (1445 or 1447).<sup>78</sup>
- (36) GRIGORY (i.e. GREGORY [II]) KHOVRA. Son of No. 34, with whom he emigrated to Moscow, where he founded a monastery in honour of his father, called the Simonov.<sup>79</sup>
- (37) JOHN (IV). Probably son of No. 35. Married Maria, an Asanina. Prince of the Crimean Gotthia, c. 1444-6. Possibly retired to Trebizond.<sup>80</sup>
- (38) ALEXIS (II), the '*authentopoulos*'. Son of No. 37. Died young in Trebizond in 1446-7. John Eugenikos composed his surviving epitaph.<sup>81</sup>
- (39) OLOBEI or OLUBEI. Son of No. 35. Prince of the Crimean Gotthia, c. 1447-?1458.<sup>82</sup>
- (40) MARIA (II). Daughter of No. 35. First wife of David, last Grand Komnenos of Trebizond, whom she married in 1426.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>74</sup> N. Oikonomidès, *Actes de Dionysiou* (Archives de l'Athos, IV, Paris 1968), pp. 44-6, act no. 2, 11, 36, 38; Theocharides in *Hellenika*, XVII (1962), pp. 18-9.

<sup>75</sup> Paul Lemerle, *Actes de Kuttumus* (Archives de l'Athos, II, Paris 1946), pp. 92-3, act no. 21.

<sup>76</sup> Nicol, *Kantakouzenoi*, p. 116.

<sup>77</sup> Vasiliev, *Goths*, pp. 198-201, 246.

<sup>78</sup> Vasiliev, *Goths*, pp. 191-231.

<sup>79</sup> Vasiliev, *Goths*, p. 199.

<sup>80</sup> Vasiliev, *Goths*, pp. 195-8, 213, 222-3, 282.

<sup>81</sup> S. P. Lambros, *Palaiologeia kai Peloponnesiaka* (Athens 1912), I, pp. 155-7; E. Legrand, 'Ioannou tou Eugenikou epitaphion to Authentopoulo', in *Deltion tes historikes kai ethnologikes hetairias tes Hellados*, I (1883), pp. 455-8; and Vasiliev, *Goths*, pp. 195-8, 282.

<sup>82</sup> Vasiliev, *Goths*, pp. 219-37, 246, 282.

<sup>83</sup> Panaretos (ed. Lampsides), f. 312a; O. Lampsides, 'Ho gamos Dabid tou Megalou Komnenou kata to chronikon tou Panaretou', in *Athens*, LVII (1953), pp. 365-8; and Vasiliev, *Goths*, pp. 198, 214, 282.

Nos. 41-3. *Gabrades in the Tourkokratia, c. 1555—c. 1653*

- (41) MICHAEL (V), or MOZALOS, GABRAS. Member of a committee which negotiated a reduction of the *peshkesh* (fine paid to the Porte for ratification of a patriarchal election) from 3,000 to 2,000 gold florins in the reign of Patriarch Joasaph II of Constantinople (1555-1565).<sup>44</sup>
- (42) CYRIL GABRAS. Briefly Grand *Skevophylax* of the Great Church in March 1604, during the reign of Patriarch Raphael II of Constantinople (1603-7).<sup>45</sup>
- (43) N. GABRAS of Skaros castle, Thera (Santorini), some of whose land passed into the hands of the monastery of St. Nicholas before 16 May 1653.<sup>46</sup>

Finally a group of Gabrades found in the Cretan province of Siteia should be mentioned. The earliest so far noted is the priest CONSTANTINE (IV) GABRAS and dates only from 1497,<sup>47</sup> but Gabrades of some substance seem to have been particularly numerous in the late sixteenth century when they had connections with the famous Cornaro family, which was in turn associated with a Siteian village called Trapezonda.<sup>48</sup> The possibility that this village was founded by Trapezuntines, perhaps in the early fifteenth century, has been discussed more than once, but the supporting evidence so far advanced is rather dubious.<sup>49</sup> But that there was emigration from the Pontos to Crete is shown by the parentage of George 'of

<sup>44</sup> The *Perilepsis Patriarchikon Eggraphon (1538-1684)*, in *MB*, III, p. 547; the *Historia Patriarchica* in *CSHB* (ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1849), p. 181. Cf.: M. Gedeon, *Patriarchikoi Pinakes* (Constantinople n.d.), p. 312 and Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity* (Cambridge 1968), p. 200.

<sup>45</sup> The *Perilepsis Patriarchikon Eggraphon (1538-1684)*, in *MB*, III, p. 552.

<sup>46</sup> Ph. Koukoules, 'He en Thera hiera Mone tou hagiou Nikolaou', in *EEBS*, VI (1929), p. 69.

<sup>47</sup> N. B. Tomadakes, 'Hoi Orthodoxoi papades epi Enetokratias kai he cheirotomia auton', in *Kretika Chronika*, XIII (1959), p. 70. I am grateful to Professor N. Panayotakis for drawing my attention to the Cretan Gabrades.

<sup>48</sup> K. D. Mertzios, 'Bitzentzos Kornaros—Erotokritos', in *KCh*, XVIII (1963), pp. 155-242; the same's 'Kretika symbolaia ton chronon tes Enetokratias', in *KCh*, XIX (1965), pp. 116-121; N. Stavrinides, 'Anekdotia eggrapha tes Tourkokratias en Krete', in *KCh*, I (1947), p. 114; and S. G. Spanakes, 'He diatheke tou Andrea Kornarou (1611)', in *KCh*, IX (1955), p. 400.

<sup>49</sup> The evidence consists of a relief of a single-headed eagle (a common heraldic motif which cannot securely be related to Trebizond), found at Trapezonda, and a misunderstanding, based on Noiret's text, of a petition of 1414 by 80 Armenian families to Trebizond to emigrate to Crete, to indicate 880 (?Greek) families. See M. Katapotes, 'He "Trapezonda" Seteias', in *Myson*, II (1933), pp. 140-1; Chrysanthos Philippides in *AP*, IV-V (1933), p. 312; D. P. Kalogeropoulos, 'Ho monokephalos aetos tes Seteias', in *Chronika tou Pontou*, II (1945), p. 354; Hippolyte Noiret, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la domination vénitienne en Crète de 1380 à 1485* (Paris 1892), p. 225; and a better reading in F. Thiriet, *Regestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, II (Paris 1959), no. 1516, p. 120.

Trebizond', born in Candia in 1396,<sup>90</sup> and by a petition of 80 Armenian refugee families of Trebizond to settle in Venetian Negroponte or Candia in 1414.<sup>91</sup> The Cretan Gabrades, of whom one of the most recent was MANASES GABRAS, abbot of Arkadi (1808-1815),<sup>92</sup> cannot be proved beyond doubt to have emigrated from the original home of the family in the Pontos, but it remains a strong possibility.

ANTHONY BRYER.

Dumbarton Oaks.

<sup>90</sup> N. B. Tomadakes, 'Symbole eis ten meleton ton xenon epoikeson en Krete', in *Epeteris Hetaireias Kretikon Spoudon*, II (1939), p. 14.

<sup>91</sup> Thiriet, *loc. cit.* There is no evidence that the Senate agreed to send them to, or that they arrived at, either destination.

<sup>92</sup> N. B. Drandakes, 'Apodeiktika parakatathekes hieron skeuon kai amphion tou 1841', in *KCh*, II (1948), p. 212.

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### B. *Modern names of areas and places associated with the Gabrades*

The village and site of Gavraz (= Kizilkavraz), 15 km. e. of Sebasteia (pp. 166-8, 179. = Sivas), may be related to the Gabrades.

In ANATOLIA, the Akampsis (p. 166) = the Çoroh; Amaseia (pp. 166-7, 176, 180) = Amasya; Amisos (pp. 166, 170; n. 41) = Samsun; Amorion (p. 174) = Hamza Hacci; Argyropolis (n. 22) = Cumuşhane; Charsianon (pp. 166, 174, 179) = Harsoniye; the district of Cheriana (p. 181) = Şiran; the monastery of St. George, Choutoura (n. 22) = Hudra; the Halys (pp. 166-7, 178) = the Kizil Irmak; the Iris (pp. 166, 178) = the Yeşil Irmak; St. John the Forerunner, Bazelon (p. 182) = Ayana; Karambis (p. 176) = Kerembe Burunu; Kinte (n. 52) = Kundu; Koloneia (pp. 166-8, 174-6; n. 56) = Şebinkarahisar; Komana (pp. 166-7, 179) is by Eudokia = Dokiya = Tokat; Kotyora (n. 52) = Ordu; the Lykos (pp. 166-8, 178) = the Kelkit Çay; Matzouka (p. 182) = Maçka; the Melanthios (n. 52) = the Melet Irmak; Melitene (pp. 177, 181) = Malatya; Neokaisareia (pp. 166, 170, 175-7, 179; n. 52) = Niksar; Oinaion (pp. 166, 180; nn. 52, 56) = Ünye; Paipertes (pp. 166, 175) = Bayburt; Paurai (pp. 166, 176) = Bafra; Philadelphia (p. 177; n. 41) = Alaşehir; Sarabinai (p. 174) = 'Basilika therma' = Terzili Hamam; Sinope (pp. 166, 172-3, 181; n. 65) = Sinop; Stavri (p. 168; n. 22) = İstavri; Taulara (p. 166; n. 52) = Koyuluhisar; Theodosiupolis (pp. 166, 175; n. 56) = Erzurum; and Trebizond (*passim*) = Trapezous = Trabzon.

In GREECE all the names mentioned have been retained.

In the BALKANS, Philippopolis (p. 176) = Plovdiv and Sirmion (p. 180) = Sremska Mitrovica.

In the CRIMEA, Caffa (p. 173) = Feodosiya; Sougdaia (p. 173) = Sudak; and Theodoro-Mangup (pp. 172-3, 184) = a site near Inkerman.